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POLITICAL AND MILITARY OBSERVATIONS.

A NEW COLLECTION.

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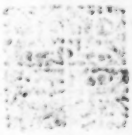
LONDON:
Printed for *H. Cox* next Castle-yard in *Holborne*: and *H. Berwick* in St. *Paul's* Church-yard. 1679.



POLITICAL, AND MILITARY OBSERVATIONS.

I.

IT is the common humour of Mankind, principally to fear the danger which is next at hand, and to be more carefully concern'd for things present, than is requisite; and on the contrary, to make less account than they ought of those things which are to come, and at a distance; and this out of a certain presumption, that Time and the contingency of humane accidents may afford some remedy for the latter.

II.

IT happens many times, that the wiſdom which is over-curious, and too too conſiderative, may be blame-worthy; inaſmuch as the affairs of the World are ſubject to ſo many and ſo great a diverſity of occurrences and diſappointments, that that ſeldom happens, which wiſemen imagined would come to paſs. That perſon therefore who quits the preſent good, out of a fear of the future danger, (it being preſuppos'd that the danger is not inevitabe and too near at hand) finds, to his ſorrow, that he has let ſlip the occaſion which preſented it ſelf to him of gaining honour or advantage, meerly out of a fear of the danger, which is afterwards found to have been vain.

III.

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II.

IT happens many times, that the wisdom which is over-curious, and too too considerative, may be blame-worthy; inasmuch as the affairs of the World are subject to so many and so great a diversity of occurrences and disappointments, that that seldom happens, which wise men imagined would come to pass. That person therefore who quits the present good, out of a fear of the future danger, (it being presuppos'd that the danger is not inevitable and too near at hand) finds, to his sorrow, that he has let slip the occasion which presented it self to him of gaining honour or advantage, meerly out of a fear of the danger, which is afterwards found to have been vain.

III.

III.

WHen the prudent man finds himſelf induc'd to give way to ſome juſt cauſe of diſcontent (from what occaſion ſoever it may proceed) he ought to moderate it, what lies in his power, with a mature judgment; out of this motive, that he is not ſo much to mind his own private intereſt, as that of the publick; ſince it is not unlikely, but that his diſcontent may be prejudicial to the welfare of the State.

IV.

A Great power, and that united in one perſon, is more to be dreaded than that which is divided amongſt ſeveral parties; which latter, as it has a diverſity of motives, ſo has it alſo a diverſity and diſcordancy of operations, and thoſe promoting a diverſity of deſignes.

IV.

THere is this obſervable in Republicks, that they are not govern'd according to the inclinations of a ſingle perſon, but by the joint deliberations and conſent of many; and thence it comes, that commonly they are thought to carry on their conſultations with more moderation and reſpect.

VI.

SUch as the Prince is in point of Morality, ſuch is the government of affairs. If the Prince himſelf be a perſon of no great eſteem, thoſe are in a condition tending to ruine; if he be a perſon of conduct, and vertuous, they flouriſh.

VII.

NEw Conqueſts, if they be not not well regulated, nor prudently governed, do rather burthen the perſon who

who has made them, than render him more potent and considerable. For it is not to be expected that he should be the occasion of any good or happiness to a Government, which he hath acquir'd by indirect means.

VIII.

AS we find in the ordering of mans body, that it is not sufficient the Head be free from all indisposition, but it is withal requisite that the other Members exercise their several functions: So neither is it sufficient in the Government of a State, that the Prince himself be unchargeable with any default in the management of affairs, if there be not a correspondency of diligence and vertuous action in his Officers.

IX.

THe Prince and the Republick are seriously to consider, what difference there is between being the first

Aggreſſors in a war againſt another, and expecting the other to be the firſt beginner thereof; between treating about the dividing of another State, and expecting till their own be in danger thereof: and laſtly, whether it be better to have one only Aſſiſtant, or to engage alone againſt ſeveral joint Adverſaries; and after ſuch conſideration made to deliberate about what is likely to prove moſt conducive to their particular intereſt.

X.

IT is a thing of ſingular prudence and great repute in a great Prince, when he ſo demeans himſelf in his affairs, as that they who are inferiour to him, have no occaſion to ſuſpect, that he does any thing out of diſſimulation, or by way of perſonation, or out of any other deſign that is not good and juſtifiable.

XI.

WHen Princes enter into leagues, in order to the reducing of intereſts to a certain equality, there eaſily ariſe diſguſts and jealouſies among them; whence it often happens, that enterpriſes begun with a great opinion of ſucceſs, meet with many difficulties, and in fine come to nothing.

XII.

FOr a man to be a King may ſometimes be the effect of ſucceſs; but to exerciſe that ſacred and royal function, which propoſes to it ſelf for its laſt end, the good and welfare of his people, depends wholly on the perſon himſelf, and the vertue which ought to be attendant on him.

XIII.

IN difficult and intricate deliberations, the Prince ought to approve

those for easie and desirable which are necessary, or at least those which in comparison of others, seem to imply less difficulty, and less danger.

XIV.

THe greater and more powerful a King is, the more honourable it is for him to employ his grandeur in the maintenance and administration of justice, and the publick faith; there being not any thing more unbecoming a Prince or Republick, than to be defective in the observance of publick obligations.

XV.

IN things that are doubtful, the Prince ought to continue in suspence, and to reserve to himself, as much as lyes in his power, the means of taking and fixing upon that resolution, which he shall find by the

general courſe of affairs likely to prove moſt beneficial and expedient.

XVI.

THe prudential Captain is he, who to obtain a victory with greater ſecurity, would rather do it with great protraction of time, much hardſhip endur'd, and cautious adventuring forward, with ſufficient proviſion for all accidents, than to overcome with eaſe and expedition, meerly to acquire glory to himſelf by puting all to an immediate hazard.

XVII.

IT commonly happens through the corrupt judgment of mankind, that prodigality is more recommended in a King, though in ſome meaſure attended with rapine, than frugality, though accompani'd by an abſtinence from encroach-

ing upon that which is anothers.

XVIII.

ALL the things, for which men are so industrious and concern'd in this world, are reducible to two points, to wit, profit and honour; under that of profit is comprehended whatever concerns the Body, under that of honour, whatever concerns the mind.

XIX.

THE Prince ought to be grave, by a regular stayedness of demeanour, governing himself with moderation in all his affairs, performing the promises he hath made, and standing more in fear of doing that which is evil, than that any ill should be done to him; and all this with a continual remembrance, that he being but a man, has receiv'd from God a power almost divine; but to this end, that he might be a furtherer

and

and advancer of things juſt, and of good report, in his Government.

XX.

THE Citizen who begins to concern himſelf in the management of the publick affairs, ought to live according to the uſual courſe of the other Citizens, and accommodate himſelf to their humour, and with all the dexterity and prudence he can, promote thoſe things, wherewith the populace are more ſatisfy'd, and by which they are ordinarily kept in a good humour. By theſe compliances he will come into repute and credit, and acquire authority.

XXI.

THey who are entruſted with the management of the affairs of a free State, ought to be always mindful of two precepts of *Plato*. One is, that they principally promote the advantage of the Citizens, and make

make all their endeavours subservient to that end, not regarding their own private interests. The other is, that they have an eye on the whole body of the Republick, so as that though they incline to one party, yet they must not desert another. The reason of it is, that the Commonwealth ought to be govern'd as a Guardianship is, to wit, for the good and advantage of those who are receiv'd under the charge thereof, and not altogether for theirs, to whom it is committed.

XXII.

IT is the peculiar charge of the Magistrate, to be careful, that he represent the person of the City, and that he maintain the order and dignity thereof, observe the Laws, and be mindful of the things committed to his trust, and make provision not only for what is done, but also for what ought to be done; it being

his

his buſineſs, that the Common-wealth be as well regulated after his death, as it was, while he liv'd.

XXIII.

THat War is juſt which is neceſſary, and that is a pious recourſe to Arms, when there remains no hopes otherwiſe than in Arms; and that war is juſt which a Prince enters into, either to recover what is loſt, or to prevent the wrong intended him.

XXIV.

THis ought to be heeded by Governours, that when they pardon a ſmall number of delinquent perſons, they diſoblige all the good; in regard that theſe latter perceiving that miſchief is pardon'd, cannot promiſe themſelves that good will be requited by the Governours; and thereupon perſuading themſelves that there is more to be gotten among

mong the wicked, they are eaſily diverted from well doing.

XXV.

IT is always obſerv'd, that in Cities, they who are neceſſitous envy the good, and have an eſteem for the wicked; they quarrel at things of ancient eſtabliſhment, and are forward to promote novelties; and out of the averſion they have for the wealthier ſort, they ſtudy tumult and ſeditions, imagining that their poverty and multitude will indemnify them from the puniſhments, due to the diſorders, whereof they are the occaſions and abettors.

XXVI.

WHen perſons of a mean and deſpicable condition are guilty of any miſcarriage, it is known but to few perſons, and the noiſe of their actions reaches no further than their conditions will bear. But the

acts

acts and demeanour of thoſe who are of great quality, and owners of great Eſtates, are remarkable to all, and ſo become more highly cenſureable.

XXVII.

IT is ſeldom ſeen that a vertuous man loſes his Liberty, but he withal in ſome reſpect loſes his Life; in regard it is a thing notorious to all, and of great difficulty to thoſe who have been educated and enur'd to freedom, to be reduc'd to a ſervile life, inaſmuch as of all things in the world Liberty is the beſt and moſt deſireable, the very name whereof is a character of vertue, as ſervitude is a mark of misfortune.

XXVIII.

WHen a perſon of noble extraction degenerates from his Anceſtors by the doing of things that are not vertuous, he ought to remember,

member, that by how much the more illustrious the Lives of his Progenitors were, in their times, so much the more scandalous and reproachable will his appear: inasmuch as the lustre and reputation of Ancestors is as it were a light to their Descendents, which discovers, to the eyes of others, the vertue or vice which is remarkable in them.

XXIX.

'TIS an humour highly commendable in a victorious Prince, when he is so far mindful of himself, as to endeavour rather to do what is consistent with the rules of generosity, than to impose conditions too insupportable upon his conquer'd enemies.

XXX.

HE who is of an humour inclin'd to peace, will not be diverted from the concluding of it by

by the great difficulties which preſent themſelves in the negotiation thereof; inaſmuch as the difficulties occurrent therein, are remov'd either by the force of down-right juſtice, or by retaliating injuſtice with injuſtice, and counterpoiſing reaſon with reaſon, or by the enduring of a leſſer prejudice, or by a mutual deference of ſeveral parties in abating ſomewhat of their right; as ſhall ſeem moſt convenient to prudent perſons, according to the importance of the thing in diſpute.

XXXI.

IT is the property of a well eſtabliſh'd and well regulated Commonwealth, that all Affairs, or the greateſt part thereof, as far as it is poſſible, be manag'd, and decided by the Laws, rather than left to the deciſion and diſcretion of a Judge; inaſmuch as there are few of ſo great abili-

abilities and found understanding, as to be sufficiently skill'd in the Laws, and withal of unquestion'd integrity, to give right judgement in a doubtful case; whereas the Laws themselves, by long experience of affairs, and by mature consideration, are reduc'd to perfection: but the judgment of man according to his natural bent to love or aversion is wrested and corrupted without the support of the Law.

XXXII.

AMong those of the popular rank, discords arise from the disparity of Estates, in regard those of the lower rate are desirous to be equal to those of the higher; but among the Nobility, they proceed from grandeurs, inasmuch as they who are equal are desirous to aggrandize themselves.

XXXIII.

XXXIII.

WHen men are come near that diſaſter or inconvenience into which they are fatally deſign'd to fall, 'tis then that they are principally depriv'd of thoſe advantages of circumſpection and prudence, with the aſſiſtance whereof they might, in all likelihood, have avoided the inconvenience which threatned them.

XXXIV.

WHen matters of great importance are under debate, there is not any thing more neceſſary on the one ſide, nor more dangerous on the other, than to take advice thereupon; and no doubt the prudent perſon ſtands leſs in need of counſel than the imprudent, and accordingly the former derives greater advantages from taking counſel than the other, becauſe he has ſo great a ſtock

ſtock of prudence, as to be able to conſider and weigh things of himſelf, and amongſt the reaſons that are offer'd, to diſcern thoſe which make moſt for his intereſt. But what aſſurance can the imprudent perſon have, in asking counſel, that the advertiſements he receives are good and faithful? For if the perſon who gives counſel be not highly faithful and well affected to him who deſires it, but is inducible to be otherwiſe, out of ſome notorious concern of his own, or out of ſome motive of advantage, or ſlender ſatisfaction, he will frame his advice ſo as that it may be moſt beneficial to himſelf. And that intention of his being for the moſt part unknown to the party conſulting, he makes no diſcovery, if he be not a prudent perſon, of the perfidiouſneſs of the Counſel that is given him.

XXXV.

XXXV.

HE who is deſirous to ballance things between Princes, and to obſerve a punctual neutrality, muſt, with the greateſt circumſpection he can, abſtain not only from all acts, but alſo from any diſcovery, which may raiſe a ſuſpicion of his being inclin'd to one ſide more than the other.

XXXVI.

YOuth, as it is that part of Man's Age which is moſt greedy of honour, and looks upon diſgrace with the greateſt indignation, ſo is it alſo the moſt capable of enduring the inconveniencies, difficulties, and hardſhips, which neceſſarily attend War. The difference there is between men or nations is not to be meaſured by years, but by ingenuity, vivacity, and ſoundneſs of judgment, ſtudy, induſtry, and the

the particular exercises of vertue.

XXXVII.

IF a great person has done thee an injury, dissemble thy reception thereof, and smother thy resentments; for it is a pure extravagance to be disgusted against a person, whom thou dar'st not call to account, and whom it were imprudence in thee further to exasperate.

XXXVIII.

THere happens an infinite variety of turns and changes in military affairs; therefore ought not a man to grow too confident upon new advantages, nor be too much depressed, upon the contrary: inasmuch as ever and anon, there comes some alteration, whereby this lesson may be learnt, that when opportunity presents it self, it should not be neglected, because it lasts but for a short time.

XXXIX.

XXXIX.

WHen matters come firſt under deliberation, it is moſt ſeriouſly to be conſider'd, what the iſſue thereof may be; and then ought men to be cautious how they aſſent to uncivil and pernicious demands. For ſome have found by experience, that when ſuch as they are treating withal have obtain'd what they deſir'd, it has prov'd only an encouragement to them to make a further progreſs in their demands.

XL.

THe more ſudden and unexpected accidents are, the greater diſcompoſure and aſtoniſhment do they cauſe to thoſe to whom they happen. It is therefore the part of a prudent perſon, to make that proviſion before-hand, which may prevent his being ſurpriz'd or diſturb'd; or if it ſo happen that it cannot be avoided,

avoided, let him endeavour, from the preſent ſtate of things, to foreſee what may come to paſs, uſing all the precautious remedies, which his experience and prudence can ſuggeſt, and not ſuffering things to grow worſe and worſe.

XLI.

IT always happens, in civil converſation, that, whether a vicious act be chaſtis'd, or a vertuous act recompenc'd, the whole body of the Citizens receives a good thereby; nor was there ever any expedient more contributory to the preſervation of Cities in a happy and flouriſhing ſtate, than that counterballancing of puniſhment and reward, juſtly apply'd according to deſert.

XLII.

ALL the aſſurances that can be had of an Enemy whether by oath, parole, engagement to friends,

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promiſes, or whatever other way can be imagin'd, are good; but by reaſon of the corruption of perſons, the depravation of Morality, and the viciſſitude of times and accidents, the beſt expedient is for a man to take ſuch order in his affairs, as that the Enemy may not be in a capacity to annoy him.

XLIII.

THE preſent method of carrying on a War is much different from that of the Ancients, who did not their work by Aſſaſſinations, and ſurpriſes, but diſcover'd to the Enemy, if any baſe contrivance were in hand againſt him, and all out of a confidence that they ſhould be able to overcome him by Vertue.

XLIV.

WHen a man is advanc'd to ſome great charge; it is ſoon diſcover'd whether he be a perſon of

great abilities, or not; but above all, by the augmentation of his worldly concerns, and the advantages he may have by his Office, the affections of his heart are discover'd, together with his disposition; inasmuch as, the greater person he is, so much the less cautious will he be, in suffering himself to be carryed away with the current of his own natural humour.

XLV.

BE it thy continual care, that thy Superiour conceive no ill opinion of thee, and be not over-confident of the leading an unblameable course of life, but endeavour to be such an one as that thou maist not be much afraid to fall into his hands; inasmuch as there is an infinite number of unforeseen occasions, wherein thou mayst stand in need of him, and be glad to insinuate into his favour.

XLVI.

XLVI.

THE Governour ought rather to fix his conſideration upon the ſubſtance and reality of the thing, than upon the appearance of it, meaſuring it rather by prudence, than by his own will, and being always diſtruſtful of himſelf; in regard it is a great reproach to a State, when imprudence is attended by danger.

XLVII.

THE grand myſtery of War conſiſts rather in obedience, than a curioſity of knowing the reaſon of the General's orders; and that Army is well fitted and prepar'd for danger, which, before it is ſet on work, is the moſt exactly kept under diſcipline.

XLVIII.

ALL thoſe who are concern'd, or commiſſionated to deliberate and treat of Affairs of great importance, ought to conſider with themſelves, whether that they undertake will prove beneficial to the Commonwealth, honorable to themſelves, and may be compaſs'd without any great difficulty.

XLIX.

IN the carrying on of Enterpriſes, it is to be obſerv'd, whether he who gives the advice, is alſo willing to expoſe his perſon to danger; and when the enterpriſe has taken effect, it is to be conſider'd, to whom the honour thereof is principally to be attributed.

L.

IN the times of publick diſturbances and ſeditions, they always have the greateſt power and credit, who of all are the moſt wicked; but in times of peace and tranquillity, they are moſt in eſteem who are the moſt remarkable for their conduct, and obſervance of diſcipline.

LI.

MEN would not be ſo violently addicted to miſchief, were it not for the advantages or ſatisfaction they reap thereby. This gave occaſion to wiſe Lawgivers to make puniſhments and rewards the groundwork and ſupport of their Governments, not ſo much out of a deſign to afflict their ſubjects, as to divert them from thoſe things wherein they are apt to follow their own corrupt inclinations.

LII.

AS Diſcord divides one City and makes it two, or more, and gives occaſion to thoſe who have their eye upon it to advance and carry on their deſignes with greater ſucceſs againſt it; ſo Union reſtrains and cements the Counſels of many, and reduces them into one body, and by that means keeps the government cloſely compacted together, and uncorrupted.

LIII.

AS it happens in a ſtructure of importance, that there is more danger of the falling of one Stone towards the foundation, than if a hundred Tiles fall down from the roof of it: ſo is it a much greater fault in point of policy, to diſobey juſtice, than to commit many ſlight faults againſt the particular devoir between man and man; ſince it has been obſerv'd,

ſerv'd, that many times great ſcandals have been rais'd in the Commonwealth, which were occaſion'd at firſt by ſome ſmall diſobedience.

LIV.

IT would be a good and wholſom Law, if thoſe perſons, who obſerve no regularity in their lives, who are negligent in the managery of their domeſtick concerns, who order not their affairs as they ought to do, and diſcover no obſervance of diſcipline in their own families, but live in perpetual jarring and contention with their Neighbours, ſhould be put under the tuition of Guardians, who might treat them and keep them in, as diſtracted and extravagant perſons, to prevent the communicating their extravagance to others; inaſmuch as the Commonwealth is never more likely to fall into diſturbance, than it is by their means who obſerve no rule in their private demeanour.

LV.

THere is not any thing more common or more pernicious among men, than that deceitful imagination of one mans condition being better than another. And this proceeds hence, that mens eyes are so blinded with malice and envy, that they would rather with much trouble grasp at what belongs to another, than quietly enjoy their own. The condition of Princes is really good, if they make a good use thereof. In like manner, the popular state is good, if men acquit themselves therein as they ought to do. The condition of the wealthy is good, if they use it with moderation; and so is that of the poor, if it be attended with patience, which is of such a soveraign vertue, as to make that good which is generally accounted otherwise.

LVI.

LVI.

IF Subjects knew what a hard task the Prince has in commanding, or if the Prince knew how ſweet a thing it is to live in tranquillity, the meaner ſort would have a great compaſſion on the Grandees, and the Grandees would envy thoſe of a mean condition; inaſmuch as the divertiſements which the Prince enjoies, amount to little in compariſon of the diſcontents he is forc'd to endure. But as the ſtation of the Prince is the higheſt of all, as he can do more than all, as his worth exceeds that of all the reſt, as he endures more than all, and ſurpaſſes all in government; ſo is it neceſſary, that the Court, the perſon, and life of the Prince be better regulated than thoſe of all the reſt, inaſmuch as it is the rule, meaſure, and ſtandard thereof.

LVII.

THere is not any thing whereof a wiſe Prince ſhould be more ſelf-ſatisfy'd, than that he has about him ſome perſons eminent for their valour and conduct, to carry on the military concerns, and others ſignal for their prudence and integrity, to manage the civil.

LVIII.

IT is a very remarkable obſervation, that men eminent for their valour and good fortune in Military affairs are born and flouriſh much more in one time than they do in another. For if a valiant perſon riſe up in the time of a daring Prince, he ſhall be in great eſteem, and employ'd upon extraordinary deſignes; but if he live under a timorous and diſtruſtful Prince, ſuch a Prince ſhall make greater account of thoſe who ſtudy how to improve and advance his

his Revenues, than he will do of him who ſhall return crown'd with Laurels from the Wars.

LIX.

THey who are deſirous of the reputation of good Princes, ought to propoſe to themſelves the examples of ſuch as have been ſuch in their ſeveral ages: for to that end are the Lives and Actions of illuſtrious perſons, by faithful Hiſtorians, tranſmitted to Poſterity; that Princes and Grandees may have ſuch Exemplars ſet before them as they ought to imitate.

LX.

THE greateſt care a Governour ought to take, is to find out the perſon who ſhall adviſe him to govern well, and to maintain his Eſtate with Juſtice. And that is not done with harſh words, but with a meekneſs that gains mens hearts, and acts

acts of good example; for a generous Soul is easily drawn in to obey, when the person who imposes the command is of good repute and example.

LXI.

THere happens one thing in the world which is worthy our serious observance; to wit, that as among the good, there is some one, transcendently good, so in like manner, among the bad, there is one transcendently such. But the misfortune is, that the good person does not gain so much honour by his vertue, as the lewd person does reputation by his lewdness; in regard vertue renders a man naturally inclin'd to retirement, whereas the vicious person never thinks better of himself, than when he appears upon the Stage.

LXII.

PRinces ought not to betray their ſurprize and aſtoniſhment at any thing, even when things ſeem to go moſt againſt them; but they ſhould obſtinately ſtand upon the defence of their own, expecting their neighbour Princes will find it their own intereſt to keep them up in their former ſtation, to prevent the overgrowth of ſome ambitious Pretender.

LXIII.

THE perſon o'repreſs'd with calamities and diſaſters is always hearkning after ſome change of fortune, whereas he who is at his eaſe does not ſo much as think of any alteration; the latter is ſufficiently ſatisfi'd with the preſent poſture of his affairs, and the other looks on Viciſſitude as the only means to cauſe ſome amendment in his condition.

LXIV.

LXIV.

SOme wise men affirm, that when the Commonwealth is upon the choice of a Governour, they should be sure to pitch upon a person who has been at least ten years in the wars; in regard that he alone is most likely to be the best preserver of a desired peace, who has been experimentally acquainted with the miseries and calamities consequent to War.

LXV.

NO doubt but that Prince does most wisely, who regulates his affairs answerably to his Revenues; in regard that if he do not, and his Territories be but small, he must either run the hazard of losing what he is possess'd of, or, to keep himself up, do those things that are burthensom to his Subjects, and so his Government must degenerate into Tyranny.

LXVI.

IT is the greateſt commendation that can be of the ſupream Magiſtrate, to be converſant and familiar with the good, (ſince that familiarity is the greateſt incentive and encouragement that can be to goodneſs;) to be liberal of his eſtate in doing of good works, (it being notorious, that he who values his reputation, makes but little account of mony;) to extirpate Tyranny (inaſmuch as the concent and harmony of the Princes Government conſiſts in the chaſtiſement of the bad, and the rewarding of the good;) and to ſhew his munificence upon all occaſions; in regard there is not any thing more endears the Majeſty of the Prince, than when he makes all the demonſtrations he can of his grandeur, in relieving others, and not expecting that he ſhould derive great advantage from others.

LXVII.

LXVII.

TWO things render a City secure, and highly contribute to the commendation and honour of its Governours; the one, when it is guarded by those whose Estates are the most considerable, & is well provided with all things relating to the defensive part; the other, when there is a fair correspondence between its Governours and their Neighbours; without which there cannot be a free intercourse of commerce, and mutual supplies of all necessary provisions.

LXVIII.

A Soveraign Lord, who would be obey'd, will do well, in the first place to conclude it necessary, that when he commands, he should make some discovery of his own personal observance thereof, in regard that no Lord is to propose that soveraign-

ty

ſy to himſelf, as to be exempted from the acts and exerciſes of Vertue; eſpecially ſince that the Prince, being the mirrour of others, is oblig'd ſo evidently and actually to apply himſelf thereto, as that he himſelf ſhould give example to thoſe that are under his Government.

LXIX.

TO meet with ſome unexpected misfortune, is a thing, of its own nature, not good; yet may it accidentally contribute to the advantage of a perſon of ſound underſtanding; in as much as it may be an occaſion to him of ſtanding more ſtrictly upon his guard, in caſe the like accident may happen another time, there being few who truly believe what evil is, till they have had ſome experience thereof. Whence it comes, that all perſons not well vers'd in affairs proceed ordinarily either with too much negligence, or too

too much preſumption; whereas he who has once weather'd out a diſaſtrous chance, becomes thereby ſo much the more cautious and conſiderate.

LXX.

PRinces will do well, ſo to converſe with their Subjects, as that they may be induc'd to ſerve them rather out of a readineſs of inclination, than out of hopes of reward; in regard that the leſs reſpect men have for mony, the leſs it implies of ſervitude. For he who loves another ſincerely and generouſly, does not become arrogant in proſperity, nor flinches from him in adverſity; does not bemoan himſelf upon the conſideration of poverty, nor is caſt down and diſguſted at his not being much in favour, nor recoyles in the time of perſecution. In ſhort, there is a correſpondence between Life and Love to the laſt gaſp.

LXXI.

LXXI.

EVery State ought ſo to deſire Peace, as to be nevertheleſs diligent in the making of all Military preparations; for peace without Arms is weak and indefenſive. Thence it came, that the Heathens repreſented even the Goddeſs of Arts and ſciences armed; and ſo, to be deſirous of peace and to carry on the preparatives of war, are not things ſimply contradictory.

LXXII.

HE truly underſtands the tender and tranſcendent concern of Friendſhip, who obliges his friend before he be requir'd to do it. For in ſo doing, he is not only generous in the diſpoſal of his kindneſſes, but alſo cauſes them to be receiv'd with a greater ſenſe of obligation, by diſburthening his friend of that baſhfulneſs and fear of repulſe, which commonly attends asking.

LXXIII.

THat Prince does well who makes it his buſineſs to be well ſupply'd with prudent Commanders and perſons eminent for their valour for the management of War: But no doubt, he does better, whoſe Court flouriſhes with wiſe Counſellors, and Stateſmen; in regard that the gaining of battels conſiſts in the proweſs and valorous deportment of many, but it happens ſometimes, that the government of the Commonwealth is committed to the management of one particular perſon.

LXXIV.

OF all employments the worſt is that which is concern'd in the chaſtiſement of other mens miſcarriages; and thence is it that a well-adviſ'd perſon does what lies in his power, to avoid them; in regard that the reprehenſion of Vices does more

more commonly beget an averſion for the reprover, than it does amendment in thoſe that are reprov'd.

LXXV.

EVery fault, what excuſe ſoever there may be for it, is however condemnable; inaſmuch as if it be committed out of a ſudden ſally of paſſion, it is already a great miſcarriage, but if out of forethought and deliberation, the miſchief is ſo much the greater.

LXXVI.

'TIS well done for a man to endeavour to manage all his concerns with reaſon, and to carry on every enterprize by order; but in the doing of it, there is much difficulty. And yet conſiderate perſons, to compaſs what they have deſign'd, will uſe ſuch diligence and precaution, as may prevent thoſe inconveniences; which, for want thereof,

thereof, might otherwiſe enſue.

LXXVII.

IT is but reaſonable, that the Citizen, who, while he continu'd in the quality of a private perſon, was affable and familiar with his friends, ſhould demean himſelf with an equal degree of affability and humanity towards them, when he has put on the Robe of Magiſtracy. For as it is the character of a mean ſpirit to be arrogant upon the honours ſucceſſively acquir'd by valorous atchievements; ſo when a man grows proud upon his advancement to an Office, whereof he muſt within a ſhort time after be deveſted, he betrays his indigence of modeſty and vertue, and little reflects, that if mens exaltation to honours muſt change their manners, humours, and deportment, it ought to change them for the better, and not for the worſe.

LXXVIII.

LXXVIII.

WHen perſons of underſtanding propoſe to themſelves the obtaining of ſomewhat which is not to be obtain'd without ſome difficulty, they bethink themſelves of the proper means to compaſs their ends. Many things are obtain'd, by the dextrous and inſinuating applications of thoſe employ'd therein; as appears frequently by the Negotiations of Ambaſſadors, and other publick perſons.

LXXIX.

THE chief Commander of an Army, beſides his skill and experience in military affaires, ought to be magnanimous, of a ſedate temper, valiant, liberal, and prudent. It is expected from him, that he ſhould ſtand upon his authority in the management of affairs, that he ſhould be grave in diſcourſe, and a punctual

punctual obſerver of his promiſes. When affairs of importance come into debate, he ought to uſe all imaginable circumſpection, to deliberate with a mature judgement, and then put things in execution with great diligence. His demeanour and countenance towards his Soldiers ought to be cheerful, ſerene, and obliging to all, yet with a remembrance of his quality, and the diſtance there is between them; that ſo he may not, by his exceſſive familiarity, give his Army occaſion to be diſobedient and undiſciplin'd; nor diſguſt it, by being too moroſe and ſevere. And whereas the good affections of the Souldiery is the moſt certain hope he has for the obtaining of a victory, it ought to be his conſtant endeavour not only that they ſhould bear him the reverence and reſpect due to his character, but alſo that they ſhould have a mutual kindneſs one for another, and be ſenſible of their being members

members of the ſame body; rewarding thoſe who merit it, and diſgracing and puniſhing the neglectors of their duty.

LXXX.

THE power of Fortune (by that name did the Heathens call the ſecret and not ordinarily perceptible diſpoſition of the extraordinary works of God) is of wonderful conſequence in humane accidents, but eſpecially in the caſe of War and Armes. So that a Command not rightly underſtood, an Order not well executed, ſome temerarious action, or the voice of an ordinary Souldier, does many times transfer the victory to thoſe who before ſeem'd vanquiſh'd. And that cauſes of a ſudden an infinite number of accidents, which it is impoſſible to foreſee, or remedy.

LXXXI.

MEN are never more eaſily deceiv'd, than they are by thoſe who have the reputation of being moſt ſincere, that is, at the greateſt diſtance from deceiving.

LXXXII.

THE greater and more important things are, the more apt are men to diſcourſe of them, never minding how cloſely they keep to the truth, or how far they receed from it. There are ſome who believe, and hold to be moſt certain, what they have heard, not regarding whether it be true or falſe. Others, though a thing be ever ſo true, relate it otherwiſe than it is, and afterwards Time making ſome additionals to the ſtory, the thing is much augmented beyond what was reported at the firſt.

LXXXIII.

LXXXIII.

TO come into favour and authority, one while by oſtentation and munificence, another while by induſtry and vigilance, are two ways equally prejudicial and pernicious, when they are practis'd ſubtilly in order to a mans advancement to Government. Thence came it that wiſe men have affirm'd, that the tracks leading to principality are ſteepy and difficult, but when once men are gotten into them, every thing helps and ſets them forward.

LXXXIV.

IT cannot be eaſily imagin'd, whence it comes that Princes are ſo favourable to ſome, and ſo croſs and inflexible to others; to wit, whether there be in that ſome ſecret of nature, or that it lies in our power to keep our ſelves in a mean, ſo as that we may not too obſtinately

oppoſe the inclinations of him who governs, and yet withal, that we forbear precipitating our ſelves into a ſcandalous adulation, and a kind of ſervile deportment, but that we obſerve ſuch a moderation as neither to crouch to ambition, nor be over deſirous of honour, and by that means paſs our lives with more ſecurity, and leſs danger.

LXXXV.

THere are but few that can by prudent advertiſements diſtinguiſh between good and evil, between what is profitable, and what is prejudicial, but follow the ordinary road of growing better, and more cautious, by the knowledge which they derive from the common events of things.

LXXXVI.

THoſe things that are foreſeen prove much leſs hurtful, than thoſe

thoſe whereof we have no preapprehenſion at all. He therefore may be accounted a perſon of a ſound underſtanding and excellent temper, who has the government of himelf, and as with an unſtartled ſpirit, entertains the arrival of ſudden and unexpected accidents.

LXXXVII.

THough the particular thoughts and imaginations of every one be known only to God himſelf, yet the natural inclinations of a people or a Province is a thing obvious and eaſy to be known; inaſmuch as their actions being publick, they muſt needs thereby diſcover their intentions and affections; from which prudent men will be able to give a character of them accordingly.

LXXXVIII.

SUbjects are much more ſatisfi'd to have their Prince near them,

than at a great distance from them; inasmuch as there accrew thence two considerable advantages; one, that the truly loyal, and well affected, being more immediately under his protection, are so much the more engag'd to his service; the other, that the pernicious designes of turbulent persons are the more easily prevented.

LXXXIX.

A Commander in chief ought to to acquire reputation, not by the hardships and dangers of others (as many do) but by the sweat and hazard of his own person, and by the interposition of his own vertue. And whereas it is no less honourable to terminate a War by Counsel, than to put a period thereto by Arms, he ought to use both means, and should principally reflect, that the first successes are those which render him most dreadful to the Enemy,

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or, on the contrary, deſpicable and of little repute; in regard that, for the moſt part, ſuch as the beginning is, ſuch is the iſſue.

XC.

AS it is a thing unqueſtionably certain, that Victories are gain'd by preventions and diverſions, ſo is it withal certain, that he is at a great diſtance from good counſel, who, without evident neceſſity, transfers the War, which another had been firſt engag'd in, to himſelf.

XCI.

A Perſon of comprehenſive parts, who can husband time well, has no reaſon to complain that his life is too ſhort; for he who makes advantage of the infinite occaſions that preſent themſelves to him does anticipate Time it ſelf.

XCII.

LIberty is a thing makes a great noiſe in the world, yet few truly underſtand wherein it conſiſts. But of all kinds of Liberty, that of Perſuaſion is the moſt deſir'd by all, in ſo much that to gain it, ſome would rather be tranſplanted to people Solitudes, than ſmother their diſcontents to live in well-govern'd Societies.

XCIII.

HE who deſires to be in favour with his Superiour ought to make all the diſcoveries he can of the reſpect and reverence he bears him; for if there be once a failure in that, the endearing correſpondence between Superiours and Inferiours is immediately diſſolv'd.

XCIV.

HE who is entruſted with the cuſtody of a City which expects a Siege, ought above all things, to bethink himſelf of all the remedies which may protract time, and to cut off all opportunities, though ever ſo ſmall, from the Enemy, inaſmuch as many times one day, nay one hour, produces ſome accident which may occaſion the relief of it.

XCV.

HE is eaſily deceiv'd who relies on the firſt advertiſement he receives of ſome accident that hath happen'd, in regard that commonly the effects are not anſwerable to the firſt advices that come. He therefore who is not forc'd by neceſſity to do otherwiſe, ought to expect ſeveral confirmations thereof, ere he takes up his final reſolution, what he ought to do.

XCVI.

IT is a dangerous thing to be govern'd by examples, if there be not a concurrence in the general, and also in all the particulars of the same reasons to be consider'd. The same may be said, if things be not regulated by the same prudential motives and reflections; and withal, if there be not a combination of all the other inducements, and the accidents and success consequent thereto.

XCVII.

AS it is a servile act for any man to be a slave to his affections; so, to subdue anger, the great disturber of counsel; to be moderate in Victory, which, of its own nature, is insolent and haughty; to be absolute master of ones self, which is the devoir of a well temper'd and generous soul; to exercise humanity, meekness, and liberality towards

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an Enemy, is a thing truly royal, divine, and worthy of eternal memory.

XCVIII.

THere is not any thing more becoming or more neceſſary to a Prince, than to be juſt, liberal, and benevolent; inaſmuch as it is the inſeparable attribute of Grandeur and Power to relieve the oppreſſed, and to alleviate the calamities of others; and this eſpecially in Kings, who, by ſuch acts, approach ſo much the nearer the Divinity, whoſe living images they are, upon the ſcore of their ſupereminent rank.

XCIX.

PErſons of lewd inclinations have always ſome opportunity of doing evil, and though they do it not, yet is it not ſo great a ſatisfaction to others, to ſee that they do not commit thoſe enormities which they might,

might, as it is an affliction, to think that it is in their power to commit them.

C.

THat Commonwealth wherein there is justice duly administred for the poor, chastisement for such as are insolent and tyrannically inclin'd, an exact observance of weights and measures, as to those things which concern the sustentation of humane life, discipline and exercise for the younger sort, and as little avarice as may be in those that are advanc'd in age, must needs be an excellent constitution of Government.

CI.

LET not any Prince think that the choice of a Tutor for his Son is a thing of small importance. For in that case, his diligence and circumspection ought to be the greater, in that he is not to do in this, as in other

other Offices which are beſtow'd either upon the mediation of others, or by corruption, or importunity or friendſhip, or for a reward of ſome ſervices already done: in regard that though ſome one of his Courtiers has manag'd an Embaſſy with good ſucceſs, or been General of an Army, or ſome great Officer about the Prince's perſon, or relating to his Houſhold, yet does it not follow that ſuch a perſon is fit to teach his Son. The reaſon is, that for a man to be an Ambaſſador, or General, it requires only in the former a good ſtock of dexterity and diſſimulation, and in the latter, that he have valour and good fortune; but to be Governour to a Prince, it is requiſite, that he have all the accompliſhments, and qualifications, ſuitable to the education of a perſon of that tranſcendent dignity.

CH.

CII.

IN the disastrous accidents of our life, wherein our own industry and strength are of little account, the only remedy we have, is to look on the worst of misfortunes as things not incompatible with the condition of humanity, and to be so far prudent, as to smother our resentments thereof.

CIII.

BEtween two Princes, the one addicted to the exercises of vertue, the other complying with the suggestions of vice, there is this difference, that the latter is only obey'd, but the former is both obey'd and belov'd. Besides, the good and vertuous Prince makes the most difficult enterprises seem light, and on the contrary, the Tyrant makes the lightest seem most heavy. Happy therefore is he who is obey'd, but much

much more happy he who is both obey'd and belov'd; for the body grows weary of obeying, but the mind is never wearied nor cloy'd with loving.

CIV.

THere is one thing which a wiſe Prince will always be mindful of, to wit, that, in the management of the publick affairs, his Governours and Judges never permit the abrogation of ancient Cuſtomes, nor the introduction of new ones; in regard the Populace is commonly ſo humorous and extravagant, that they would every day have new Princes, and new Laws.

CV.

IT is an eaſy matter to deſign what a man would have done by another perſon, and by what means it is moſt likely to be brought to effect; but to command the execution there-

of

of is no slight thing, inasmuch as between those two there are many things which obstruct, retard, and disturb such executions.

CVI.

'TIS a thing out of all dispute, as *Aristotle* affirms in his *Rhetorick*, that Riches do often render those persons, that are possess'd thereof, proud and insolent: but he who shall wisely consider it, will say with *Seneca*, that none is more worthy, none makes greater approaches to the Divinity, than he who makes no account of riches; which, saies he, I am far from affirming that thou shouldst not be possess'd of, but I would have thee possess'd thereof without any fear, distraction, or disturbance. Which happiness thou art not to acquire, but by this only expedient, to wit, by a firm perswasion, that thou canst live happily without them, and that thou shouldst always

always look on them; as if they were taking their flight away from thee.

CVII.

WHat preſumption ſoever a man may have of his own abilities, yet ought he not ſo to rely on his own counſel, as that ſometimes it may not be more ſafe for him to ſubmit to that of others; in regard that he who is aſham'd of conſulting, and defies the conduct and directions of another, may aſſure himſelf, for the moſt part, that he has a fool to his Guide, and conſequently that he muſt needs be guilty of many miſcarriages.

CVIII.

IT is not prudence to judge of Counſels by the event of things, in regard that many times good Counſels have not an iſſue anſwerable thereto, and on the contrary, evil Counſels may

may prove fortunate. But when evil Counſels are applauded, upon the ſcore of their being ſucceſsful, it is a ſecret encouragement for men to do thoſe things that are unjuſt, which may prove highly prejudicial to the Commonwealth, inaſmuch as evil Counſels are not always fortunate; and there is alſo another faule in blaming and cenſuring the more prudent Party, whoſe adverriſements have not had the ſucceſs which was expected, in regard that ſuch a procedure diſheartens the Citizens from giving their opinions freely, when the publick concerns of their City requires it.

CIX.

WHen it happens that there is a neceſſity of denying ſome perſon his requeſt, itis but requiſite, to keep the ſaid perſon from being diſguſted, and to aſſure him of the good will they bear him, and to make ſome

ſome other overture to him, ſo that he may thereby perceive that they have a reſpect for him, and would gladly oblige him. Upon this demeanour, the other, if he have any ſentiment of humanity, will be as much, if not more, ſatisfi'd, than if his requeſt had been granted: So great an influence have kind words and an obliging carriage over the minds of good natur'd perſons.

CX.

IN publick affairs it is requiſite that men be extreamly careful and conſiderate at the beginning of what they deſign; in regard it will not be afterwards in their power without diſhonour and danger, to recede from the deliberation once fixt upon, and in which they have for ſome time perſiſted.

CXI.

CXI.

WHat is wish'd by the greater number does not often succeed, in regard that for the most part the events of humane actions depend on the wills of few; and the intentions of these latter being in a manner always different from those of the greater number, things seldome happen otherwise than according to the intention of those from whose directions they derive their first motion.

CXII.

NEutrality is most commendable in the Wars wherein other parties are engag'd, in regard that many inconveniences and great charges are thereby avoided; and it may be time enough to be concern'd for either party, when success seems to intimate which side is most likely to prevail.

CXIII.

CXIII.

THE clemency of Princes hath always gain'd them good-will and reputation; and, on the contrary, rigour, (if there be not ſome extraordinary neceſſity for it) has always produc'd the contrary effects, and inſtead of removing the obſtacles and difficulties, which lay in their way, it has made ſome additionals thereto.

CXIV.

IT is more wiſely done for a man to court his friendſhip who is unwilling to become his Enemy, than to curry favour with him, who one time or other cannot be his Friend.

CXV.

THere are three principal conſiderations to be minded in the carrying on of all Enterpriſes, to wit, the

the justice of the Cause, the facility of the Victory to be obtain'd, and the conveniences and advantages accruing thereby.

CXVI.

THere is not any thing so short-liv'd as the remembrance of a Benefit, and many times, the greater it is, the more likely it is to be repay'd with ingratitude. For, he who is not willing to take off the obligation, by retaliation or remuneration, often endeavours to do the same thing in another sense, perswading himself, that the good turn was not so great; and they who are asham'd of their having been reduc'd to the necessity of desiring a kindness, are vext and tormented in their minds that they have receiv'd it. So that the remembrance of the necessity into which they were fallen makes a greater impression upon them, than that of the Obligation

gation which had been layd upon them.

CXVII.

MAny are the inconveniences that happen in the Armies of confederated parties; while they are concerting their deſignes, the opportunity of entring into action ſlips away, their preparatives are delay'd, interrupted, and diverted, according to the forces, aimes, and counſels of the Princes concern'd, ſo that it muſt needs prove a hard matter to make a firm union, where there is ſo much diſorder and diſtruſt, and withal ſo great a diverſity of inclinations, and courages, and varieties of conditions.

CXVIII.

'TIS the natural humour of the Populace to be always deſirous of novelties, and to be eaſily fill'd with falſe and vain perſuaſions, lightly

lightly hurry'd away with the insinuations of those who have once set them on work, as the waves of the Sea are stir'd by the blowing of the wind.

CXIX.

SO extravagant is the nature of mankind, that when they are forc'd out of one extreme, wherein they have been violently detain'd, they ride in full speed to the other extreme, without ever making the least halt in the mean.

CXX.

THere is one thing highly considerable in military concerns, and that is the Reputation of the chief Commanders. Assoon as this begins once to decline, the souldiery is immediately discourag'd; the loyalty of the Nations concern'd is shaken; there follow distraction and distrust in Counsels, and want of a hearty and

and cheerful concurrence in Action; the proviſion for the Army's ſubſiſtence is interrupted; and on the contrary the Enemy is heartned, thoſe who were content to obſerve a Neutrality, are apt to incline to the ſucceſsful party, and all difficulties grow greater and greater.

CXXI.

IN human Actions men ought for the moſt part to make their Counſels complyant with the preſent Neceſſity, and not, out of an overearneſtneſs to overcome that which is too difficult, and as it were impoſſible, to expoſe the generality to a manifeſt danger and inconvenience.

CXXII.

WE find many times by experience, that thoſe things which at the firſt proſpect preſent themſelves as highly dreadful, appear by degrees

ſo much the leſs conſiderable, that, if the former errour be not renew'd by ſome additional accident, all the terrour in proceſs of time vaniſhes, and we are induc'd to laugh and wonder at our former aſtoniſhment.

CXXIII.

HE who finds that there is no account made of him, gives way to diſguſt, and that inſpires him with thoughts of revenge, and inclines him to attempt dangerous things, which ſometimes meet with their deſign'd effect; eſpecially when the perſon who is become ſo daring is of any authority, or remarkable for ſome extraordinary qualification.

CXXIV.

ALL ſubjection is burthenſome, all reſtriction is inſupportable to him who would live as he pleaſes himſelf. A perſon of that humour

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can find but little quiet under a regular Government, in regard that there is a neceſſity either of his complyance which the Prince, or of his ruin by him.

CXXV.

IT is commonly obſerv'd, that a reſolution taken either too haſtily, or with too much affection comes off with a ſlur. For the much celerity of the reſolver does not allow him the leiſure to reflect on thoſe things which ought to be conſider'd, before the reſolution be taken; and the exceſſive affection ſo prepoſſeſſes the mind, that it does not take notice of any thing but what is moſt preſſing in ſuch or ſuch a point. To theſe two examples may be added two others, to wit, in theſe caſes, when there is time enough to deliberate, and the perſon deliberating is unprepoſſeſs'd with any particular affection, yet out of a certain natu-

ral incapacity, or through an insuperable kind of remisness or debility of spirit, remarkable through all their actions, they never do any thing that holds water.

CXXVI.

WHen affairs are reduc'd to the extremity, as that there remains nothing for hope to rely upon but the pure Providence of God, the prosecution of the adventure in such a case must be look'd on as the result of reason and prudence, insomuch that we ought to attempt the danger, not minding how little ground there presents it self to humane prudence. For God many times takes a certain delight in sending a spirit of infatuation upon the counsels and designs of some people, and making those calamities which they intended to bring on others to recoyle upon themselves.

CXXVII.

THE greater a man's credit and reputation is amongſt the generality of the People, the more dangerous it is to ſupport and advance him. As therefore it is an eaſy matter at the beginning to oppoſe the diſorders which may enſue thereupon, ſo when they are come to any growth, it will be ſo much the more difficult to remedy them.

CXXVIII.

THE exerciſe of Arms, the obſervance of the Lawes, and the frequent celebration of Divine Service, in a well regulated City cannot ordinarily be ſeparated, without the deſtruction of them all. So that there is a correſpondence between them and the ſtate of the Soul, wherein there are the vegetative part, the ſenſitive, and the intellectual; which parts yet do not make three Souls,

but one only distinguish'd by the operations of the three faculties: So the establishment of the State requires a reciprocal aid and correspondence.

CXXIX.

WHere ever there is servitude, there is also fear; and the greater the former is, the greater also is the latter. But though servitude implies Tyranny, yet has the Tyrant as great a share of the fear, as they over whom he tyrannizes, inasmuch as he who commands Slaves, is not himself free; Now the Tyrant being such, it follows that he himself is servile as well as his people, and so as there is force and indignity on both sides, so is there a continual augmentation of fear.

CXXX.

CXXX.

IN matter of War, Valour and Artifice are highly recommended; but the perfection of Arms conſiſts in knowing the true uſe of the moral Vertues, a right underſtanding of political affairs, and treading in the Steps of ancient and eminent Commanders.

CXXXI.

IN Military affairs, when there is ſome great deſigne in hand, the abſolute Authority of ordering all is to be conferr'd on one ſingle perſon who tranſcends all the reſt in point of merit; yet ſo as that he be oblig'd to have always about him ſuch as are well skill'd in Counſel, with whom he may confer, and to whom he may communicate all concerns of importance.

CXXXII.

MEN are glad of advertiſements and directions in things that are doubtful, not in the certain; in things ſubject to hazard, and not to prudence: it were therefore but requiſite to conſider what is the principal concern in the matter whereof we are to deliberate. For in deliberations, when any one is not conſtrain'd by neceſſity, he ſets himſelf on work according to the unconfined plenitude of his own will, which is in all things and every where free, and then his thoughts are wholly taken up with the ſucceſs of the Enterprize, to wit, whether his fears or hopes outweigh one the other; and thereupon he reſolves to forbear attempting any thing when hazard has the principal part, and is moſt likely to carry it; or on the contrary he will attempt the execution of his deſigne, when prudence

dence tells him that it will prove advantageous.

CXXXIII.

WHen Commonwealths are well govern'd, the prosecutions of envious persons turn to the advantage of those against whom they are intended; for innocency being clear'd by truth, their endeavours prove like the stroaks given to the ball, which the harder it is struck, the higher it rebounds; so the calumniations of the envious instead of eclipsing, add more lustre to those against whom they are directed.

CXXXIV.

COntinual severity must needs exasperate those over whom it is exercis'd. But as the excessive indulgence of Parents makes their Children apt to lead an irregular and disobedient course of life; so the

remisness of a Prince, who suffers his authority to be slighted, renders the Citizen dissolute, and the Soldier undisciplin'd and licentious, and proves withal the occasion of greater mischief, when persons of quality are concern'd. For the insolence of these last is more dangerous than that of a multitude, it being not so difficult to discover the designes wherein many are engag'd, as it is to pump out the secret plottings of one particular person.

CXXXV.

When the Prince is sollicited by a Grandee in some concern of great importance, and that he is unwilling to grant his request, he ought to consider two points, one relating to the necessary circumstances, as the cause from whence the discontent proceeds, the person disgusted, and the present conjuncture of time; the other, how requisite it

it may be, to counterballance the refuſal, by conferring ſome other boon on the Petitioner.

CXXXVI.

THE good Soldier may be likened to poliſh'd Steel, which while it is handled preſerves its luſtre and brightneſs, and on the contrary, for want of being us'd, growes ruſty, and that ruſt conſumes it, and in time makes it contagious; So the good Souldier, who is good only while he is handling his Arms, in the time of War, is prejudic'd in himſelf, and may prove dangerous to others, when he is out of his proper element and employment.

CXXXVII.

IN the competitions that happen between two ſeveral parties, that which is excluded will be rather inclin'd to cloſe with a third party, than comply with that, between whom

whom and it the precedent competition was.

CXXXVIII.

THere is not any thing ſo prejudicial to mankind as a tranſcendent proſperity; for the effects of it, are, licentiouſneſs, luxury, confidence to do miſchief, an irreclaimable inclination to diſturb the publick by ſome novelty, and all the inconveniencies conſequent to ſatiety.

CXXXIX.

THE infamy of being temerarious is more prejudicial to a Military Commander, than the honour of a Victory is advantageous to him; inaſmuch as when he is chargeable with temerity, the blame is wholly attributed to him alone, but the honour of the victory, and the proſperous management of affairs (at leaſt according to the opinion of many)

ny) is communicable alſo to others.

CXL.

SInce there is frequent neceſſity of changing orders and deliberations, in the time of War, according to the variety of accidents, it ſhould be the principal conſideration of a chief Commander, ſo to accommodate all things at the beginning, as if he had, as much as may be, foreſeen all events, and all counſels; in regard that, as the proſperous ſucceſſes engage the reſpects and affections of the Army towards their General, ſo the contrary makes a proportionable abatement of the ſame reſpects and affections, and conſequently there is not that ſympathetical correſpondence which ought to be between them.

CXLI.

THE prudent perſon ought not to entertain any ſuſpicion that men

men diſtruſt his integrity, and if he does ſuſpect it, he ſhould demean himſelf ſo as that the wicked may not be ſenſible of his having any ſuſpicion of them, leſt that upon that occaſion fear may augment their licentiouſneſs, and that, as to others, there may not be an abatement of their diligence and promptitude.

CXLII.

'TIS prudence in a man to make as if he knew nothing of uncertain newes, or at leaſt to keep it ſo ſecret, as not to betray any confirmation thereof; in regard that many times, either it is abſolutely falſe, or the credit to be given thereto admits of a conſiderable diminution.

CXLIII.

THey who are induc'd to commit ſome act in the night time proceed

ceed commonly upon ſome ſinful motive, preſuming that the night covers in them what the day would diſcover, to wit, their fear and ſhame.

CXLIV.

FOR this reaſon has God entruſted Princes with the Government of their Dominions, that their Subjects may, in order to the obtaining of their right, appeale from that Law which is dumb, and as it were dead, and without force in it ſelf, to the living Law which ought to be the Magiſtrate.

CXLV.

THE principal commendation of military Diſcipline conſiſts in not oppoſing danger without neceſſity, by induſtry, patience and policy to defeat and elude the enterpriſes of the Enemy, rather than by deſtroying them in a cruel and bloody engagement.

CXLVI.

CXLVI.

A Benefit conferr'd upon one who is perſuaded that he has receiv'd an injury counterballanceable thereto, is not ſufficient to remove out of his diſaffected mind the memory of the offence; eſpecially when the benefit comes at ſuch a time, as that it ſeems rather occaſion'd by neceſſity, than to proceed from good will.

CXLVII.

THE Counſels and ſecret deſigns of Princes are moſt commonly divulg'd after a manner much different from that which is true in effect; and this they do purpoſely to amuſe the Generality, that they may buſy themſelves in diſcourſing of one thing, while another of different nature is in agitation.

CXLVIII.

CXLVIII.

PEace is deſirable and holy, when it ſmothers all diſtruſts and jealouſies, when it gives a check to all dangers, and when men are exonerated from all charges, and may repoſe themſelves without the leaſt fear of diſturbance. But when it hatches the contrary effects, it is a pernicious War, under the counterfeit title of peace, and a peſtilent poiſon under the name of a good Medicine.

CXLIX.

AMbaſſadors are the Eies and Ears of States, and the other publick Miniſters are the Spectacles of the reſpective Princes by whom they are employed.

CL.

MEns favours are to be meaſur'd by the real effects, and not by the

the external demonſtrations thereof; and yet it can hardly be imagin'd how great a ſatisfaction it is to a man, to be treated with the ceremonious part of courteſy and humanity. The reaſon of it may poſſibly be this, that every one is apt to think, that he deſerves more than he receives, and conſequently is diſguſted when he perceives there is not that account made of him which he thinks due to him.

CLI.

Subjects cannot be well govern'd without the exerciſe of ſome ſeverity at certain times, yet is there a neceſſity that it ſhould be ſeaſon'd with a dextrous inſinuation of its being not ſo much the inclination of the Prince to be ſevere, as that it is requiſite for the publick good, that the reformation of ſome ſhould be occaſion'd by the puniſhments inflicted upon others.

CLII.

CLII.

A Man ſhould endeavor to refrain from whatever may cauſe the leaſt diſſatisfaction or prejudice to another. It is conſequent therefore, that he ſhould never ſay any thing either in a mans preſence, or his abſence, which may diſpleaſe him, unleſs there be ſome neceſſity of his ſo doing; in regard it is the greateſt extravagance in the world, for a man to make a needleſs creation of Enemies to himſelf.

CLIII.

HE who runs himſelf into a danger without ever conſidering, of what concern it is likely to be, may be accounted a perſon of a beſtial humour. But he who knows the importance of it, and yet freely expoſes himſelf thereto, either upon the neceſſity there is of ſo doing, or upon ſome honourable account, muſt be

a person of great courage, and truly magnanimous.

CLIV.

IT is a vulgar errour to affirm, that Learning and Study are prejudicial to the Brain; though peradventure it might be truly said of some one, who has a weak Brain, and is of an infirm constitution; but where there is a conjunction of a good constitution, and the accidental good of Learning, it makes a most accomplish'd person, and of an excellent Temperament.

CLV.

THat glory is to be accounted vain which is purchas'd with any injury done to another; but the true, solid, and immortal glory is that which consists not in the ruining of Nations, and destruction of Cities, but rather in the consolidation of Kingdoms, the association of Pro-

Provinces, the ſettlement of publick tranquillity, the eſtabliſhment of Commerce, and the deliverance of people out of the miſeries and calamities attending humane nature.

CLVI.

ALL the fruit and advantage of having obtain'd a victory conſiſts in knowing how to uſe it, and it is a greater infamy not to know how to uſe it, than not to have gain'd it; in regard it is more ignominious for us to be deceiv'd in thoſe things that are within our power, than in thoſe that are not.

CLVII.

INconſiderate and doubtful deliberations are not excuſable in any but thoſe whoſe concerns are in a diſtracted and unfortunate poſture, or in a perſon whoſe thoughts are wholly bent upon Ambition, and one who being deſirous by all the

the ways imaginable to get himſe
a greater name, is afraid he has no
time enough to do it in.

CLVIII.

ALL humane actions are ſubject
to many dangers; but this is
the advantage of wiſe men, that
they know that what ever *may* hap-
pen *does* not always come to paſs,
but that upon ſome occaſion or o-
ther many dangers become none at
all, many are ſtav'd off by prudence
and induſtry; and many are wea-
ther'd out by patience and equani-
mity.

CLIX.

HE who is more apprehenſive of
the future than he ought to be,
muſt not expect to be accounted a
wiſe man, nor yet they who preſup-
poſe for certain the dangers that are
but doubtful, and accordingly re-
gulate all their deliberations, as if
the

the danger were inevitable. But it argues a certain magnanimity in that perſon, who knowing and throughly conſidering the dangers, yet diſcovers how that many times, either by ſome unexpected chance, or by the aſſiſtance of Vertue, men extricate themſelves out of great difficulties and inconveniences.

CLX.

IT happens ſometimes, that when a Prince aſſumes thoughts of aggrandizing himſelf, or growes jealous of loſing his Dominions, he takes occaſion to forget what obligations may ly upon him for benefits receiv'd. A remarkable inſtance of this kind of demeanor we find in *Lewis Sforza*, who inſtead of expreſſing his gratitude to *Charles* VIII. of *France*, for the kindneſſes he had receiv'd from him, contributed his aſſiſtance for the driving of him out of *Italy*, and ſided with his enemies,

and

and all only to preſerve his own Concerns, and out of the apprehenſion he had of the greatneſs of *Charles*.

CLXI.

IN the giving and receiving of advice there are many things to be conſidered, but principally two, to wit, prudence in him who is to receive the advice, and fidelity in him who is to give it. For counſel being nothing elſe but a diſcourſe conſider'd and weigh'd by reaſon, in order to a diſcovery whether a thing ought to be done or not, if the perſon who is to receive the advice be not prudent, he will not accept of that which is given him for the beſt, but will follow that, which, according to his apprehenſion, ſeems moſt convenient; in as much as not being prudent, he will be apt to fancy thoſe things that are moſt inconvenient, and ſo will never ſet himſelf ſeriouſly

ſeriouſly to work as he ſhould do. On the other ſide, he who gives the advice, it he be not faithful, will find ſo many ways to diſguiſe the truth, that many times that is put in execution, which is more beneficial to the Conſultee, than to the Conſultor.

CLXII.

HE who intends to engage in a war ought to be alwaies prepar'd, and to have his mind fortify'd againſt whatever event may happen, and to be ready to entertain all occurrences; and he ſhould principally bethink himſelf not to enter into a war unjuſtly, and conſider well againſt what Potentate he is to be concern'd, what allyances and combinations may be made againſt him, and laſtly examine his own forces and thoſe of his Adverſary, and what confederates either party may have.

CLXIII.

THE ambition of a General often proves pernicious to the State by which he is employ'd. For it is the ordinary humour of such persons to be backward in putting a period to the War, even when they may do it with honour and advantage, that they may continue longer in their charges, and by that continuance they gain the affections of the Soldiery, and so are in a fair way to their assumption of Soveraignty. He who has a powerful Army at his devotion has the command of all as far as that can extend its Quarters.

CLXIV.

ARE men desirous of coming into great repute and esteem? Let them be always careful of doing those things which are commendable and of good report; inasmuch as vertuous actions are not the effects of

of honour, but honour is the effect and recompence of vertuous actions.

CLXV.

IT is generally acknowledg'd by all, that the Government of a Country by one ſingle perſon, when he is but tolerably good, is better than that of a greater number, though it be granted that they alſo are good. And it may be withal rationally concluded, that in a greater number of Govenours there may be a greater likelihood of degeneration from the principles of Government, and a greater combination of Tyranny, than there can be in one individual perſon.

CLXVI.

TO frame inſtructions for the particular benefit of every one, is a very difficult task; but it is much more difficult to put ſuch a project in execution; in regard that men

know well enough what they ought to do, but they are extreamly backward in applying themſelves to the performance thereof. Let him therefore who thinks that application incumbent upon him, endeavour to offer a certain violence to his own diſpoſition, and make that habitual which yet admits of no greater perfection than that of deſire; by which means, he will eaſily attain whatever ſhall be taught him, and will voluntarily do any thing, according as reaſon ſhall command him, or experience direct him.

CLXVII.

THE acquiſition of a great Eſtate or Honour is a thing commendable, provided it be done without fraud or any indirect means; yet ſo great is the corruption of mankind, that men commonly are ambitious of high titles, and magiſtracy, as if they were illuſtious and magnificent

ficent of themſelves, and did not derive their true value and eſteem, from the vertue of thoſe who are deſervedly advanc'd thereto.

CLXVIII.

A Military Commander ought ſo to mind all things as if he had not charg'd any perſon with the care thereof; and this, not only out of the diſtruſt he ſhould have that his commands may not be punctually executed, but alſo out of this conſideration, that his Soldiers will be more forward to execute his orders, when they ſhall find him ſo laborious and vigilant himſelf.

CLXIX.

HE who would prognoſticate what will be the effects of another mans deliberation, ought, to avoid being deceiv'd, to conſider ſeriouſly, not only what a prudent perſon would be inclin'd to do upon

the like emergency, but alſo to meaſure the abilities and diſpoſition of the deliberator.

CLXX.

A Phyſician who undertakes to cure the infirmity of ſome particular member, is very careful that the medicine he applies does not prejudice any other member: ſo ought that privy Councellor, who is to adviſe his Prince, to be ſo his remembrancer of the concerns of the Commonwealth, as that he is withal mindful of the honour and preſervation of the Prince.

CLXXI.

THere is not any man of ſo weak abilities, but that he may manifeſtly perceive the difference there is between actions proceeding from fear and errour, and thoſe which proceed from fraud and an evil intention.

CLXXII.

CLXXII.

HE who knows in himſelf what is advantageous, and for the good of the Commonwealth, and yet forbears communicating it to others, is an inſignificant member of that Body.

CLXXIII.

A Commander may make a retreat upon two occaſions, either out of timorouſneſs, or prudence; the former whereof is reproachable, the other deſerves commendation, in regard it ſeems to wave the hazarding of what is not ſufficiently ſecur'd. That victory is the moſt advantageous and moſt glorious, which is gain'd with the leaſt loſs and effuſion of the Souldiers blood.

CLXXIV.

AS the Soul, which ordinarily ought to be the Governeſs of

the Body, becomes a Tyrant, when, regarding only her own excellency, in compariſon of the Body, ſhe ſo thinks of her ſelf, as not to allow any part of time for the ſervice of the body; whereby the latter is weakned, and rendered uncapable of performing its offices: So, on the contrary, they who make the Body Lord over the Soul, and employ their whole time in ſatisfying the appetites thereof, without reſerving ſome part for the other, can never become vertuous, nor have any valour in themſelves.

CLXXV.

AVarice is, no doubt, much more blameable in a Prince, than in a private perſon; not only upon this ſcore, that the Prince having more to diſtribute, fruſtrates men of the benefits they expect from him, but alſo in regard, that whatever the private perſon hath, he may diſpoſe thereof

thereof without any others being much concern'd in it. But whatever the Prince has, he has chiefly for the benefit of others; what therefore he retains to himſelf is ſo much deducted out of what men ſhould receive from him.

CLXXVI.

PRinces have cauſe to be more diſtruſtful than other perſons, not only in regard they are many times flatter'd, but alſo that many doubtful advertiſements are propos'd to them, and that it is a difficult matter for them to follow thoſe that are moſt advantageous to their concerns.

CLXXVII.

THat Prince who has the moſt obliging way to gain the affections of his People, makes a great diſcovery of an excellent good nature, and withal gives a certain demonſtration of his being uncharge-

able with the vice of Pride, which brings an odium upon the vertues themselves.

CLXXVIII.

WHen any of the Enemies forces fall off from him, and come into thy service, it is no small happiness if they prove faithful to thee; inasmuch as the forces of the enemy are much more weakned, by the defection of those who desert him, than by the loss of those who are kill'd; though the name of turncoat, or fugitive be suspicious in new-rais'd men, and odious in old Souldiers.

CLXXIX.

IN military contests, the prosperous success of the victorious Prince proceeds for the most part from the want of Counsel and Conduct in the Enemy. And thence it comes, that it is a difficult task to

subdue

ſubdue him who knows the extent of his own forces and thoſe of his Enemy. Beſides, the performances of the Souldiery are to be attributed more to their gallantry than to their multitude, and ſometimes the advancement they make depends more on the advantages of the place, where the engagement happens, than upon their perſonal valour.

CLXXX.

MEN, Armes, Mony, and Proviſions are the ſinews of War; but of theſe four, the two former are the moſt neceſſary; in regard that reſolute men, well Arm'd, will make a ſhift to find mony and proviſions; but thoſe two laſt will not ſo eaſily find Men and Arms.

CLXXXI.

WHen the Prince is ſurrounded by his familiar friends in a time that requires nothing of action, he

he communicates his favours to those who are most acceptable to him, and most complyant with his humour. But when he has some great design to carry on, he knows how to make a distinction between those who are purely favourites, and such as may be more serviceable to him.

CLXXXII.

A Person reputed to be of great conduct and well experienc'd in the management of affairs, who can maintain ten thousand men, is more to be fear'd and esteem'd than ten others confederated together with each of them five thousand men; in regard they are tedious and dilatory in the concerting of their designes, and much time is commonly lost ere they can be unanimously brought to resolve upon the same end.

CXCIII.

CLXXXIII.

THat perſon who is deſirous to be entertain'd into the ſervice of ſome Grandee, ſhould rather pitch upon one of ſome repute for his prudence, than one notorious for his ignorance: in regard that if his dependence be on a wiſe man, he will find means to ingratiate himſelf into his favour; but with an ignorant man, his applications will in all likelihood prove ineffectual, by reaſon of the want of apprehenſion in the perſon to whom they are made.

CLXXXIV.

THE affairs of this world are in a perpetual fluxe of uncertainty and inſtability; yet are they always in a progreſſive courſe towards the end to which they ought to tend according to their nature. But this progreſs meets with greater obſtructions

ſtructions than we imagine, in regard that we meaſure their motion according to our life, which is of no great duration, and not according to their continuance, which ſeems long to us in reſpect of our ſelves. And thence it comes, that the judgements which we make of them are commonly falſe and defective.

CLXXXV.

IN things of importance, he who does not take into his conſideration all the particulars relating thereto, cannot frame a right judgement of them; in regard that any ſingle circumſtance, how inconſiderable ſoever it be, may change the whole face of the thing which is to be judg'd. Yet true it is, that many times, a man may frame a good judgement thereof, though he have the knowledge but of the affair, only in general; and

and on the contrary, he who knows the particulars may be guilty of a greater miſcarriage; in regard that if his head be not clear, and diſengag'd from paſſion, his attention to the particular part will confound and diſturb his apprehenſion of the whole matter under conſideration.

CLXXXVI.

IT is a great felicity for a man to ſee his Enemy caſt down and lying at his mercy; but the greater his happineſs is, to whom that happens, the greater reaſon he has to make a commendable uſe of that victory, by expreſſing his clemency and readineſs to forgive, it being the particular mark and property of a great and generous ſoul.

CLXXXVII.

AN inferiour Prince ought not to hazard all he has in one fight; for if he get the better, he only gains

gains the more glory; if he miſcarries, he is ruin'd to all intents and purpoſes.

CLXXXVIII.

WE find that in the ordinary differences which happen between men upon the civil account, and in the diſeaſes whereto men are ſubject, the Judges and Phyſicians have recourſe to the judgements of thoſe who have been anciently eminent in thoſe ſeveral Profeſſions; The ſame may be ſaid of affairs of State and Policy, that it were expedient the preſent Stateſmen conſulted the directions of the Ancients, who have been eminent for the good Government and civilization of ſuch as were ſubject to them.

CLXXXIX.

THere are many who ſeem to be highly diligent in the reading of ancient Hiſtories, and to take a par-

particular divertiſement therein, by reaſon of the remarkable variety of accidents which occur; but few apply themſelves to the imitation thereof; and that with the greater reproach to themſelves, in that they think it a thing not only difficult, but alſo indeed impoſſible; as if the Heavens, the Sun, and the Elements had chang'd their motions, order and influences, in compariſon of what they were heretofore.

CXC.

THE Friendſhip there is between perſons of quality, of a private condition, proceeds from the mutual correſpondence of their minds, and the conſonancy of their humours and diſpoſitions. But among Princes, this correſpondence of humours does not always beget amity, but ſometimes, out of a certain judgement which they frame to themſelves, of the advantages accrueing

crueing by the contraction of such Friendships, and sometimes their confederations are the effects of the present exigences forcing them thereto.

CXCI.

ADversity is the Touch-stone which distinguishes between those who are friends out of design, and those who are really such. It makes a full discovery of the fidelity and constancy of some, and how slight and superfluous others may be. So that a man has this benefit by adversity, that there are driven from him, without the help of a Staff, all that throng of persons whose souls are mercenary and of no value, full of avarice and ingratitude, and there remain behind only those minds which are fortune proof, and such as cannot be surmounted by Adversity.

CXCII.

CXCII.

HE who founds a Commonwealth, and eſtabliſhes Laws for the government thereof, ought to have preſuppos'd that men are inclin'd to wickedneſs, and will make a diſcovery of that inclination, upon any occaſion that ſhall offer it ſelf. And when the malignity lies conceal'd for ſome time, it proceeds from ſome ſecret cauſe, which, for want of having ſeen the experience of the contrary, was not obſerv'd; but it is afterwards diſcover'd by time, which brings all things to light.

CXCIII.

NEutrality, of its own nature, is full of danger, in as much as it gives offence, on the one ſide, to the ſtronger party, who expected to be ſided withal upon the ſcore of his grandeur, and on the other to the weaker,

weaker, who takes it unkindly, and thinks it an injury that he is not assisted and reliev'd. So that the neutral party is neither secur'd against an enemy, on the one side, nor preserves a friend, on the other.

CXCIV.

AS long as a Prince continues in a neutral condition, every one endeavours to caress him, & to draw him to his party, and consequently he is honour'd, and not only enjoys his neutrality in quietness, but also makes an advantage of it by the presents he receives from those who would lure him into their Allyance; whereas if he has once declar'd himself, he has lost the satisfaction of being a spectator of the difference, and one of the contending parties must look upon him as an enemy, though the reasons and motives he had to appear against him be never so plausible.

CXCV.

CXCV.

IT is a hard queſtion to decide, whether be the more ambitious perſon, he who is deſirous to keep what he is poſſeſs'd of, or he who endeavours to make new Conqueſts. For many times great alterations are caus'd by him who is peaceably poſſeſs'd, in regard the fear of loſing begets in ſuch perſons the ſame inclinations, which they have who would conquer. Nay ſometimes, he who is poſſeſs'd does not think himſelf ſecure, if he be not always in a readineſs to make new acqueſts, and to do that, there is a neceſſity of having forces, and thoſe muſt be in action, anſwerably to the ambitious deſires of thoſe by whom they are maintain'd.

CXCVI.

THoſe who are entruſted with the adminiſtration of publick offices,

fices, or the government of Provinces ought to have these three conditions; to wit, That they have tenderness and affection for those who are under their jurisdiction that they be invested with sufficient authority to constrain, where it is requisite; and that they be persons remarkable for their justice and valour. But with this precaution into the bargain, that they who are advanc'd to the Government of others be such as have been in their younger days govern'd and directed by others.

CXCVII.

IN all the resolutions of this world, there is an intermixture of good and evil; God having so order'd it, that men might be the more sensible of the imperfection of their present state. But it is the part of a prudent person to counterballance the good and evil, and to embrace that resolution wherein he

he finds either less evil, or more good.

CXCVIII.

Since man is to look on his own good and preservation as his main concern, he ought not in reason to be tax'd with any inconstancy, when upon the vicissitude of human affairs, he also admits some change in his designs and procedure, yet continuing constant and resolute as to the end he had propos'd to himself. And this is but to follow the example of good Pilots, who being bound for such a Port, yet upon alteration of wind and weather seem to change their course, but still in the midst of the tempest they mind the prosecution of their voyage, and the preservation of the Vessel.

CXCIX.

CXCIX.

GOod Souldiers require a good Captain, he being the guide of all, and the ſucceſs or miſcarriage of a deſign depending on his action and conduct. Thence came the Greek Proverb, that an Army of Deer having a Lyon in the head of it, is more terrible than an Army of Lyons headed by a Deer. But it is however requiſite, that both Commanders and Souldiers ſhould be good, that it may not happen as *Cæſar* ſaid going againſt *Pompey*, that he went againſt a Captain without Souldiers, and afterwards going againſt *Afranius*, that he was to engage an Army without a Captain.

CC.

THere are four ſorts of men who are always mention'd with honour. Firſt, they who have been highly ſucceſsful in the eſtabliſhment and

and promotion of true Religion. Secondly, thoſe who have been the founders of States and Kingdoms, and ſetled the Government thereof by good Laws. Thirdly, they who have been Succeſſors to the laſt mention'd, and have made great dilatations of the Empires which they found ſo eſtabliſhed. And laſtly, perſons who have been great Promotors of Literature, and Patrons of learned men. On the contrary, the teachers of a falſe Religion or deſtroyers of the true, the diſturbers of Government, and the enemies of Learning and Vertue, have been, through all ages, infamous and deteſtable.

CCI.

A People which hath been accuſtomed to live in ſervitude, being left to their own liberty, may be likened to a Beaſt that has been kept in a Park, which having once got out of it, will be continually miſ-

chievous, till at last it be either de-
stroy'd or brought into its former
restraint.

CCII.

WE ought to be very moderate and cautious in the commendations of persons. For as it is natural for any one, to resent his being disparag'd, so, on the contrary, excessive commendation (besides the hazard it implies of his judgement who commends, and the greatness of his merit who is commended) is many times offensive to him who hears it. That portion of self love, which every one has, even though he is not sensible of it, makes us immediately apply to our selves the commendations and discommendations which we hear given to others, and consequently we imagine our selves concerned therein, though they are not purposely directed to us.

CCIII.

WHen the Prince has fortify'd himſelf with the allyances of excellent Captains, valiant Souldiers, Arms, Mony, and ſtrong places, his next work muſt be to weaken the Forces, and to defeat the deſignes of the Enemy; and that is done more ſlowly or with greater expedition, according as occaſion offers it ſelf, which is the ſource of every great and tranſcendent action.

CCIV.

IT ſeldom happens, that a vertuous man will be ambitious of ſoveraignty by indirect ways, though his aim therein may be good; and that a wicked perſon being once become great, will ever uſe that authority well, which he has attain'd by evil courſes.

CCV.

THough a Succeſſor in Government be not fully ſo remarkable for his vertue as the perſon whom he ſucceeds, yet may he maintain the ſtate in the ſame grandeur he found it, by the vertue of his Predeceſſor, and make his advantage of the others labours. But if it happen that he does not live long, and that he be again ſucceeded by one that does not follow the footſteps of the former, ſuch a State muſt needs degenerate. So, on the contrary, if two perſons, both eminent for the greatneſs of their vertue, happen to be immediate Governours of the ſame Province, they commonly do great things, and give a ſmart ſtroke to the firm eſtabliſhment of their Government.

CCVI.

CCVI.

IT is a thing out of all controverſy, that if there be not Souldiers where there are men enough, it proceeds from ſome defect in the Prince, and not from that of Nature, or the ſituation of the Country, or genius of the Inhabitants. And thence it comes, that wiſe Princes keep up the exerciſe of War even in the times of peace.

CCVII.

IN a well-regulated Commonwealth, the good Services and merits of Citizens ſhall make no plea for their Crimes, if they be of any importance. For rewards being appointed for well doing, and puniſhment for miſcarriages, it is an aggravation of their lapſes who have done well, that they have done ſo, and therefore if they do amiſs, there is no account made

of their former vertuous demeanour.

CCVIII.

HE who would reform a City, to the general satisfaction of all its Inhabitants, should endeavour what he can to retain the ancient Customs, and that course of life which the people was traditionally inclin'd to, that it may not seem to the Generality, that there is any alteration in the Government, though really there be, and that the constitution thereof is a quite different thing from what it was before. For it is the humour of the Populace, to be contented and layd asleep with that which seems, as much as with that which really is; and many times there are greater disturbances occasion'd by that which seems to be, than there are by that which really is.

CCIX.

CCIX.

THE vice of Ingratitude proceeds either from avarice, or diſtruſt. When therefore a Prince or State ſends out a General upon ſome important expedition, and the other growes highly into repute thereby; ſuch a Prince or State is oblig'd to acknowledge and recompence the ſervice done them. But if, on the contrary, they diſhonour or affront him, avarice prompts him to commit ſome inexcuſable fault, and ſo he brings himſelf into perpetual infamy.

CCX.

AMbition has ſo great an influence over the heart of man, that it keeps a perpetual poſſeſſion thereof. The reaſon of it is, that mans diſpoſition being naturally inclin'd to deſire all things, and his deſires always exceſſively ſurmounting

the means of obtaining them, proves a continual occasion of discontent and repining. Thence proceeds the variety of mens conditions, inasmuch as their labouring to augment, and the fear of losing what they are possess'd of, occasions Quarrels, Animosities, and Wars, and those are the fore-runners of the ruine of one Province, and the aggrandization of another.

CCXI.

THat Prince who would keep up his Estate in a flourishing condition, will not only be careful in the removing of present scandals, but also use his utmost industry in providing against such as may happen. In regard that if he make timely provision against them, they are easily reform'd; whereas if the evil be grown up to a head, the remedy comes too late.

CCXII.

CCXII.

IT is not to be admir'd, that thoſe Princes who are very powerful and have a numerous iſſue ſhould have their thoughts much bent upon War; and that, either out of a motive of honour, or to make proviſion for their progeny, by Military Employments, or foreign Governments, if they have Colonies in remote parts of the world; or laſtly to prevent the diſturbances which may be occaſion'd by the different pretenſions of younger Brothers.

CCXIII.

THE wiſe ſervant ought to imitate the excellent Phyſician, and foreſee what he ſhould hope or fear, neither hoping nor fearing more or leſs than is convenient, ſo that he may always know whether his hope be in its augmentation, or at

its full height, or in its declining ſtate, and accordingly prognoſticate what he is to expect. Being thus precaution'd, he will have his Judgment as it were in his hand, not ſuffering it to be heightned by hope, or to be depreſs'd by fear: and ſo he will prudently manage the Affairs of his Maſter, whoſe advantage he minds equally with his own repute, in the Negotiation wherein he is employ'd.

CCXIV.

Plato would have the devoir of a good Citizen to conſiſt in theſe four things; to wit, that he ſhould be prudent in diſerning well what is moſt conducive to the common good, as well as to things preſent, as to come; that he be juſt, in diſtributing to every one what is due to him; that he be vertuous, in ſurmounting the fear which commonly obſtructs he exerciſes of vertue; and

and laſtly, that he have an abſolute ſoveraignty over his affections.

CCXV.

THE ſhorteſt and ſureſt way for Princes to make a mutual diſcovery of their different deſignes, is that of Ambaſſadors, eſpecially if they be perſons of great repute either upon the ſcore of the Grandeur of thier Maſters, or that of their own Vertue. For it being their buſineſs to treat always with great perſons, and diligently to weigh the actions, deportment, words, and advices of thoſe with whom they negotiate, and alſo thoſe of the Prince himſelf, they from the preſent conjuncture of affairs infer what is moſt likely to come to paſs afterwards.

CCXVI.

WHen men propoſe to themſelves the doing of ſome thing of great importance, they ought, with

with all the industry they can, prepare themselves for it, that when opportunity offers it self, they may be ready to put their design in execution. When therefore all the preparatives are cautiously made, there should be no discovery made thereof till the opportunity of action does it; and then if there be a neglect in the execution, it argues that the persons concern'd therein were not sufficiently prepar'd, or wanted courage to carry it on.

CCXVII.

Distributive Justice in a political Government ought to be regulated according to Geometrical proportion, to wit, according to the quality of persons: otherwise, it is not justice: as we see, that infamy to a person of mean extraction amounts to little, but to one nobly descended, it is the most indigestible punishment. That Magistrate therefore

fore who proceeds to the cognizance of merits and miſcarriages, favours and diſgraces, by the ſame meaſure, not conſidering the diverſity there may be between ſome perſons and others, according to their ſeveral qualifications, is defective in the underſtanding of his duty; in regard, that perſons of noble birth are diſcourag'd by the ignominy of being reduc'd to an equal rank with their inferiours, and thoſe, of the meaner ſort, finding themſelves treated as perſons of better extraction, grow thereby the more inſolent and inſupportable.

CCXVIII.

WHen the Forces of a Prince are regulated by prudence and conduct, they do admirable things, ſecuring his own concerns, and thoſe of his friends, cauſing confuſion and aſtoniſhment to his enemies.

CCXIX.

CCXIX.

IT may easily be observ'd by a person who shall examine things present with a reflection on the past, how that in all Cities, and among all Nations, there are now the same inclinations, and the same humours, as were heretofore. So that it is no hard matter, for such an Examiner, from the things past, to foresee what may happen in any Commonwealth, and consequently that Prudence advises the practising of the same remedies which were used by the Ancients. But in regard those considerations have either been neglected, or not fully comprehended by such as read, or if they have been read, they have not been understood by those who govern, it follows, that the same scandals and misgovernments happen at all times.

CXX.

CCXX.

THE only way to make a City flouriſh is to uſe all poſſible endeavours to ſupply it with Inhabitants; and that is done either by love or force. 'Tis done by the former, when the ways to it are free and ſecure to ſtrangers who are deſirous to make their habitations there; by the latter, when the neighbouring places are deſtroy'd, and the Inhabitants thereof obliged to tranſplant themſelves thither.

CCXXI.

A Small Republick cannot ſafely be poſſeſs'd of a City that is ſtronger and greater than it ſelf. For otherwiſe its caſe would be like that of a Tree, whoſe branches being too weighty for its boal, weaken it ſo that the firſt blaſt of wind lays it on the ground.

CCXXII.

CCXXII.

A Prince or Republick ſhould ſubmit to any terms rather than have recourſe to that Nation from which it hath aſſiſtance. For there cannot be a more plauſible occaſion for a Prince or Republick to poſſeſs themſelves of a City or Province, than when they ſend their Forces for the defence thereof.

CCXXIII.

OF all Eſtates that is the moſt miſerable, whether it be the caſe of a Prince or Republick, when they are reduc'd to ſuch extremities, that they can neither accept of a Peace, nor carry on a War. Such is the condition of thoſe who on the one ſide are over-cruſh'd by the conditions that are proffer'd them of a peace, and on the other being oblig'd to continue the War, are forc'd to become a prey either to thoſe who

who are their Auxiliaries, or to their Enemies.

CCXXIV.

THE welfare of a Government conſiſts in this that the ſubjects be ſo kept in, as that they have not the power, nor any reaſon to make a diſturbance. And this is done, either by making all ſecure in depriving them of the means of doing evil, or gratifying them ſo well, as that they may not have any plauſible reaſon to deſire a change of Government.

CCXXV.

THE Prince who is ſet upon by another greater than himſelf, can hardly commit a greater errour than to refuſe all overtures of accommodation, eſpecially when they are offer'd him; in regard that what is proffer'd cannot be ſo inconſiderable but that ſome advantage

tage accrewes to him who accepts of it, and is consider'd as part of a victory obtain'd by him.

CCXXVI.

AMong the marks whereby it may be known what condition a State is in, we are to consider the correspondence there is between it and its neighbours. For when it is so govern'd, as that its Neighbours to gain its friendship become its Pensionaries, it is a certain argument that such a State is in a flourishing condition: but when the neighbours that are inferiour to it, are as so many Suckers thereto, perpetually draining its Exchequer, it is a great sign of weakness or want of conduct, or corruption in the Government.

CCXXVII.

MEN in their actions, especially those of importance, ought to

to conſider, what is moſt convenient to be done, and to accommodate themſelves to the preſent conjuncture; for they who either through an unfortunate election, or out of a mutinous humour can admit of no acquieſcence with the preſent time, live for the moſt part in a wretched condition, ever repining, and vainly expecting a change of affairs.

CCXXVIII.

THat ſome men are ſucceſsful in their undertakings, and others not, it is to be attributed to their complyance or diſcomplyance with the time proper for the execution thereof. Thence is it that we ſay ſome men proceed in their actions inconſiderately, and as if they were ſurprized, while others do nothing without a previous circumſpection and ſcrutiny into all the particulars that may occur in their deportment.

CCXXIX.

CCXXIX.

THat Commander who would have a City obſtinately defend it ſelf, or an Army once engag'd to fight it out to the laſt man, ought above all things to inſinuate into them a perſuaſion of the neceſſity there is of fighting.

CCXXX.

THE wiſe Chieftain who propoſes to himſelf the conqueſt of a Country or Province, ought to meaſure the difficulties he may meet withal, by conſidering the Neceſſity, which may force the Inhabitants of the Country to defend themſelves, anſwerably to the greatneſs of the neceſſity in thoſe who are to defend themſelves againſt him, to make account that his expedition will be more or leſs difficult.

CCXXXI.

CCXXXI.

AMong other points of Military Diſcipline, a wiſe Captain ought to be eſpecially careful, what perſons they are who take the word from him; and to take order that his Souldiers believe not any but their own Officers, who are not likely to ſay any thing to them but what they are entruſted withal. For want of a punctual obſervance of this point, incredible diſorders have many times happen'd.

CCXXXII.

IN a Military expedition, it is much better to ſend one ſingle perſon, though endu'd but with ordinary prudence, than two together, though very valiant perſons, inveſted with equal authority.

CCXXXIII.

CCXXXIII.

SOme Cities and Provinces, which have held out againſt all extremities of War, have been reduc'd by ſome extraordinay example of generoſity, humanity, or chaſtity. Of this there are many examples in the *Roman* Hiſtories.

CCXXXIV.

HE who is over-earneſtly deſirous of being lov'd, if he exceed ever ſo little in the artifices of inſinuating himſelf, becomes contemptible; and, on the contrary, he who is over deſirous to be fear'd, if he exceeds the true meaſure, becomes odious. He who can obſerve a mean in theſe procedures muſt be a perſon of a great and exemplary vertue.

CCXXXV.

THE only way to avoid the infamy or danger which is conſequent

quent to the giving of counſel, is, to take things moderately, to give advice without paſſion, and to defend it with modeſty; So that the Prince or City, who receives and follows the advice may do it voluntarily, and not ſeem to be over-ſway'd by the importunity of him who is conſulted.

CCXXXVI.

THE wiſe Captain who has to do with a new Enemy, whoſe reputation is great, ſhould make a previous tryal of his Souldiers, by ſmall engagements with the Enemy, before he comes to the hazard of a pitch'd Battel, to the end that by ſuch preluſory skirmiſhes there may be an abatement made of that terrour, which the noiſe and reputation of ſuch an Enemy might have rais'd in them.

CCXXXVII.

CCXXXVII.

TO uſe Stratagems and circumventions upon all other occaſions, raiſes a diſlike of the perſon uſing it; but in Military concerns it is otherwiſe, in ſo much, that he who ſubdues his enemy by a ſtratagem, is as highly commended, as he that does it by force.

CCXXXVIII.

A Reſolution taken up with too much precipitancy, or an over earneſt affection, proves for the moſt part unfortunate. The former allowes not the time to ruminate on the things which are to be conſidered; the latter takes up the mind ſo, that it heeds not any thing but what immediately preſs upon it.

CCXXXIX.

CCXXXIX.

A Man is much more concern'd at a pleaſure or diſpleaſure newly done him, than he is at a ſignal kindneſs, which he had receiv'd ſome conſiderable time before. Thus a mans immediate exigences make a much greater impreſſion upon him, than either the remembrance of that which is paſt, or the foreſight of that which is to come.

CCXL.

BEſides many other misfortunes which muſt attend a Prince who is neligent in the affairs of War, theſe two are moſt obvious, to wit, that he cannot be reſpected by the Souldiery, nor repoſe any truſt in them. To remedy this, there are two expedients; one relating to the Body, the other to the Mind. The former requires the following

of the nobleſt and moſt generous ſort of exerciſes, ſuch as hunting, whereby his perſon is enur'd to the ſupporting of all inconveniencies, and he is enabled to obſerve the advantages and ſituation of places. The latter conſiſts in the reading of Hiſtories, and, in them, reflecting on the actions of excellent men, and how they demean'd themſelves in their wars, examining the occaſions of their Victories, or loſſes, and above all, in imitating thoſe whoſe great Characters Time has tranſmitted to us.

CCXLI.

IT is greater wiſdom for a man to be accounted poor, though ſome ſhame be conſequent thereto, provided he do not incur hatred or contempt, than to gain the title of a liberal perſon by rapine and injuſtice, which are ever attended by infamy and averſion.

CCXLII.

HE who thinks to advance himſelf by his dependence on a great Perſon, and is deſirous to be employ'd by him, ought to keep as much as he can poſſibly in his preſence. For ever and anon, there happen occaſions, wherein he recommends ſome affair to him who is next at hand, which he would not do, if the other were to ſeek: and he who miſſes the beginning of his advancement does many times forfeit his access to great things.

CCXLIII.

IN the particular accidents of War, Chance (which is commonly known by the name of Fortune) has a greater influence than in other humane actions. For the different ſituation of places, the advantages of encamping, the diverſity of the air, diſeaſes, want of mony, ſcarcity of

proviſions, ſpies, guides, falſe intelligence, the contrivances of publick Miniſters, and divers other things occaſion an infinite variety in the occurrences of War.

CCXLIV.

IT is more probable, that an experienc'd Sea Commander, who has ben accuſtom'd to fight againſt winds, waves, and men, ſhould make a good Captain at Land, where he has only men to deal withal, than that a Land-Captain ſhould make a good Commander at Sea.

CCXLV.

THoſe very perſons, who attribute moſt to Vertue or Prudence, only that they might exclude what is attributed to Fortune, cannot deny but that it is an extraordinary chance, for any man to live and flouriſh at ſuch time, when

when thoſe Vertues are in eſteem for which he is moſt recommendable, or to be concern'd in ſuch an occaſion, as where they are moſt neceſſarily to be practis'd.

CCXLVI.

THE Miniſters and Favourites of Princes, if they are wiſe, ought to procure all the fair correſpondence that may be between them and their neighbouring Princes, and withal to raiſe in them a tenderneſs and affection for their ſubjects.

CCXLVII.

IT being every mans caſe at ſome time or other to ſtand in need of anothers aſſiſtance, where there is no precedent obligation upon the ſcore of benefits receiv'd, nor any conſideration of intimate friendſhip, or allyance, the perſon ſolliciting ought, for this reaſon,

to make it appear, that ſuch his requeſt is of great advantage, or at leaſt not any way prejudicial to him whom he expects liberally to grant his deſire; then he is to make him ſenſible, how tranſcendently he will be oblig'd to him. And where he cannot urge any thing of this nature, he ought not to be diſguſted, if he does not obtain what he deſires.

CCXLVIII.

IN all affaires, it is requiſite firſt to uſe reaſon, and afterwards force. In military deſignes therefore, it is of greater concern to ſet ambuſhes for the Enemy, than only to avoid his. The more a man governs himſelf by reaſon in any affair, the more he advantages himſelf.

CCXLIX.

CCXLIX.

A Man makes a greater complaint when an injury is done him contrary to reaſon, than when a violence is done him by force: for an injury has place between thoſe who are otherwiſe equal in condition; but force is a mark, that he who uſes it is more powerful, than he on whom it is uſed.

CCL.

WHen we prepare our ſelves to go againſt our Enemies, we ſhould make account, that the preparatives on their ſide are as great as thoſe on ours, not promiſing our ſelves any more ſucceſs for the faults which we imagin they have committed, but rather preſuppoſing, that having their ſenſes, and judgment about them, they have pro-

vided for their affairs, as well as we have done for ours.

CCLI.

A Wiſe man ought not to conceal the advantageous advice which he has to give his Country, meerly out of the uncertainty there is of its being put in execution; for time will diſcover the integrity and prudence of him that gave the advice, and withal the temerity and extravagance of thoſe who rejected it.

CCLII.

THough the act of Clemency ſhould prove beneficial to the perſon by whom it is exercis'd, yet does it ſometimes tend to his prejudice. But this happens according to the ſubject on which it is exercis'd. For when it is done

to

to a multitude, it proves ſo much the more beneficial, the more the obligation conferr'd thereby is multiply'd, it being in a manner impoſſible, that a numerous party having receiv'd a benefit, ſhould conſpire together to be ungrateful to ſo great a Benefactor; whereas one or few particular perſons may be of ſo malignant a diſpoſition, as to fall, immediatly after the reception of a great kindneſs, into that horrid vice of ingratitude.

CCLIII.

THE beſt way for a Captain to inſpire his Souldiers with an obſtinate reſolution of fighting, is, to put them out of all hopes of ſafety, otherwiſe than by fighting. And that reſolution is augmented in them by the confidence they have of their Comanders experience, and the love they bear their Country. Divers other

other inducements may concur, but the moſt preſſing conſideration is that which forces them either to conquer, or dy.

CCLIV.

THE accompliſhment of every enterprize is much more difficult than the beginning of it; ſince the latter may be the effect of ſome lucky accident, but the former requires reſolution, experience, and conduct. Thus a Veſſel may weather out a Tempeſt at Sea, but when it comes near the Port, the Pilot ſhews the utmoſt of his skill by reaſon of the narrow paſſage into it.

CCLV.

CCLV.

IT is a great presumption, in any person, how much so ever he may imagine himself in favour with his Prince, to be over-forward in giving him advice. For the reflections of Soveraigns being many times fixt upon things of a nature transcending the capacities of such as are about them, it happens, that they are secretly dissatisfy'd when they seem in some measure pleas'd. It is therefore the prudence of a Courtier, to be alwaies so cautious, in offering his advice, as that there may be a presumptive probability, of its not becoming prejudicial to the Offerer.

CCLVI.

CCLVI.

WHen a perſon, who thinks himſelf in favour, is of a ſudden diſcountenanc'd, he ſhould not give the leaſt admiſſion to murmuring, diſguſt, or animoſity; but, reflecting on what might be applicable to him, upon the ſcore of miſcarriage, endeavour, by the arts of inſinuation, and complaiſance, to recover himſelf into his former ſtation in the Princes affections.

CCLVII.

THere are two eminent requiſites, in thoſe, who are concern'd abroad, as publick Miniſters. For, if they do not give evident proofs of their vigilance, ſedulity, and ſufficiency, in managing the Negotiations wherein they are entruſted, as

as alſo of their perſpicacity, in foreſeeing what influence they may have on poſterity, there is a great deficiency in the diſcharge of the truſt repoſed in them.

CCLVIII.

THE main deſign of Government is prudentiallity carried on, and advanc'd, when there is an unanimity of counſels amongſt thoſe who have the adminiſtration of publick affairs. But when they are divided amongſt themſelves, and promote different intereſts, it argues a dangerous criſis.

CCLIX.

CCLIX.

GReat are the calamities conſequent to War. The Treaſury of the Prince is exhauſted: Commerce is obſtructed: and the devaſtations, committed in a ſhort time, are not repair'd, without a ſubſequent Peace, of many years continuance. And ſuch muſt needs be the condition of the many Countries, now the ſeat of the preſent War.

FINIS.